



# **Black Resistance to School Desegregation in St. Louis During the *Brown Era***

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VASHON  
HIGH SCHOOL

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Even today, Americans are aware of the remarkable inequalities in the segregated society of the Deep South prior to the civil rights movement and the mass resistance that it confronted. The discriminatory practices and disproportionate funding of the educational system resulted in a movement to overturn the existing *Plessy v. Ferguson* ruling of 1896 that deemed separate-but-equal facilities constitutional and replaced the ruling with legislation mandating integration. The renowned case that resulted in a federal step toward dismantling legal segregation was the *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka* decision of 1954.

As with any groundbreaking court decision intended to completely reorganize society's hierarchy, *Brown* was met with severe resistance. The majority of this resistance originated from white segregationists of the South, but there was significant resistance from black Americans as well. With the mandate for public school desegregation, members of the African American society responded with varying reactions and views. Those who were victims of the inferior education system in the South or other parts of the country were strong supporters of the *Brown* case in most instances. However, there were members of the pre-*Brown* black society who managed to build separate-but-equal communities, some of which were the most successful at maintaining a separate-but-equal society with equivalent but segregated public school systems. Despite common misconceptions, communities such as these existed; St. Louis was one of the most thriving examples, whose black members were less accepting of integration as segregation continued to offer them particular opportunities.<sup>1</sup> That is, a large number of black St. Louisans did live in a separate-but-(more or less)-equal society, where public schools were less discriminatorily funded in comparison to their Southern counterparts.

This essay discusses the reaction to the *Brown* decision within the St. Louis black community and explores the actions of a group of St. Louis Negro Teachers<sup>2</sup> that openly resisted public school desegregation. This group of St. Louis Negro Teachers' main objective was to pass a bill in Missouri's legislature that would have given each school district local option regarding integration.<sup>3</sup> Even though not successful, this group had a specific position within the St. Louis debate about

school desegregation. Among the massive amount of deliberation concerning school desegregation between white segregationists and black integrationists, another debate coexisted among black integrationists and black educators, not about whether school desegregation was a moral obligation or a necessary step toward civil rights, but rather the intangible cost of integration. What aspects of the black community were African Americans willing to forfeit in exchange for the promised equality of *Brown*? Was employment of African American teachers one of those aspects?

Two main ideas emerged from this debate. First, there was significant resistance to the *Brown v. Board of Education* decision within the St. Louis black community; the resistance was led by a group of educators who fought to maintain their employment and therefore the mildly lucrative establishments that the separate-but-equal practices legalized by *Plessy v. Ferguson* starting in 1896, and was strictly adhered to in Missouri. Second, this resistance to public school desegregation in St. Louis was met with considerable counter-resistance among other members of the St. Louis black community, especially those involved with the St. Louis black press and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP).

### Missouri as a Separate-but-Equal Leader

At the time of *Brown*, St. Louis was home to half of the 300,000 African Americans who lived in Missouri, with the other half distributed throughout the state and with heavy concentrations in Kansas City and the Southeast.<sup>4</sup> St. Louis sustained the largest and arguably the most prosperous black community in the state of Missouri at this time.<sup>5</sup> As compared to the South, Missouri was regarded as an impartial and prosperous environment for African Americans even during the height of the civil rights movement. One author in 1956 put his finger on the dual nature of Missouri in an article in the *Journal of Negro Education*, noting that while Missouri is often regarded as a southern state, it "is so closely allied in its interests with the Midwest that the Negro has not fared as poorly as he has in some southern states."<sup>6</sup> Even George Lipsitz, author of Ivory Perry's biography, *A Life in the Struggle*, regards St. Louis as a city that "had long enjoyed a reputation as a vital center for Afro-American life and culture."<sup>7</sup> Lipsitz goes on to explain that St. Louis had this reputation mostly because of its successful black high school, Charles Sumner High School, the first black

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(Photo left) When completed in 1931, Vashon High School was originally Hadley Technical High School for African Americans in St. Louis. (Photo: Western Historical Manuscript Collection, St. Louis)

secondary school west of the Mississippi River, and black community hospital, Homer G. Phillips Hospital.<sup>8</sup> Both institutions were located in one of St. Louis' most prominent black neighborhoods known as "The Ville."<sup>9</sup>

Priscilla Dowden-White introduces the idea of the manipulation of public culture by St. Louis African Americans between the world wars. Despite legally mandated segregation, St. Louis blacks successfully developed an equal community by the 1950s.<sup>10</sup> Not only did privately owned black businesses flourish, but so too did institutions that directly involved the public realm such as schools and hospitals.<sup>11</sup> Clarence Lang reiterates the importance of Dowden-White's argument of the manipulation of public culture by stating, "black St. Louisans used clientage, racial pragmatism, and interracial negotiation to stake claims on a continuing share of educational and health care resources."<sup>12</sup> In general, the mobilization toward available and more equal institutions caused the St. Louis black community to become more successful and prosperous, more specifically aiding the growing educational opportunities of the St. Louis black community.

To accommodate this large community, St. Louis City controlled the second largest segregated public school district in the United States prior to *Brown*, and even though segregated, all schools within the St. Louis Public Schools, both black and white, were funded comparably.<sup>13</sup> According to a metropolitan St. Louis survey conducted in

1955,<sup>14</sup> the average amount spent per pupil in the larger St. Louis metropolitan area was \$12,229.<sup>15</sup> With this in mind, every student within the St. Louis City boundaries, which included some of the white and all of the black schools, was allotted between \$12,000 and \$18,000, which was at or well beyond the average.<sup>16</sup> In comparison, every other state that mandated segregated schools gave significantly less funding to black schools with the only exceptions being Delaware, Oklahoma, and the rest of Missouri.<sup>17</sup>

Missouri was even considered a leader among other states that mandated segregated public school systems in regards to the equal educational opportunities that the state provided to black students.<sup>18</sup> Prior to *Brown*, all Missouri students, regardless of color, attended school for the same term length and were taught using the same curriculum organized by a biracial committee of educators.<sup>19</sup> Each Missouri school district spent an equal amount of money on each pupil despite the student's race.<sup>20</sup> Both black and white students in St. Louis and Kansas City were provided with the same textbooks chosen by a biracial committee of teachers.<sup>21</sup> At the time of *Brown*, all the teachers in the St. Louis and Kansas City school districts were evenly qualified and paid; every teacher had a college degree and all were paid in accordance with the same salary scale.<sup>22</sup>

Many black teachers and administrators of St. Louis Public Schools who attended St. Louis' all-black schools prior to the *Brown* decision regarded their schools as adequate or better.<sup>23</sup> The executive vice president of

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When completed in 1937, Homer G. Phillips Hospital was one of the most prominent institutions in the segregated Ville neighborhood of St. Louis. It became one of the few nationally recognized, fully equipped hospitals for training African American doctors, nurses, and technicians. In 1955, St. Louis Mayor Raymond Tucker mandated that patients of all colors and creeds living in the western part of St. Louis must be admitted. Homer G. Phillips Hospital closed in 1979. (Photo: Western Historical Manuscript Collection, St. Louis)





J. Milton Turner School, pictured here, was the most prominent public building in the Meacham Park community (later annexed by the City of Kirkwood). Meacham Park was a predominantly African American neighborhood in St. Louis County; in 1925, Kirkwood Public Schools completed Meacham Park School to replace the aged and substandard Booker T. Washington School. It was renamed J. Milton Turner School in 1932, commemorating James Milton Turner (1840-1915), a former slave who became a prominent politician after the Civil War. (Photo: Western Historical Manuscript Collection, St. Louis)

St. Louis' Harris-Stowe State College, Dr. George Hiram, had attended Simmons Elementary School in the prominent black St. Louis neighborhood known as The Ville.<sup>24</sup> In an interview, he characterized his early educational experience at Simmons as one with "remarkably fine teachers" and an abundance of books and supplies.<sup>25</sup> Doris Carter, principal at Carver Elementary School in St. Louis, was also educated under the segregated system, attending Lincoln Elementary School from 1945 to 1954. In addition to never recalling a shortage of books or supplies, she remembered being taught by a talented and involved faculty that would frequently visit their students' homes.<sup>26</sup> She even gave credit to these teachers for inspiring her to become an educator.<sup>27</sup>

## Equality Instead of Integration

In the mid-twentieth century, at the pinnacle of the civil rights movement, many African Americans, even those living in the Jim Crow South, expressed that they would live in a separate-but-equal society as long as it was truly equal.<sup>28</sup> They were even willing to accept segregation in exchange for access to decent jobs, housing, and education. Social scientist Gunnar Myrdal's findings reveal that even though southern whites were most concerned with thwarting social equality, blacks were least concerned with social inequality and were most troubled with the availability of jobs, housing, and education.<sup>29</sup> With this

in mind, African Americans, in general, were definitely not interested in integration. Many blacks thought that society's principal problem was racial equality and the availability of equal facilities, not racial integration.<sup>30</sup> Even NAACP representatives struggled to persuade members that integration would provide a better education for their black children than attempting to equalize the present segregated system.<sup>31</sup>

Throughout Missouri, integration remained unpopular even after the 1954 *Brown* decision. In Columbia, a town located in central Missouri, only six out of 110 African American students chose to attend a formerly all-white high school while the other 104 chose to continue at their all-black high school.<sup>32</sup> In addition, 72 out of 78 African American junior high students in Columbia chose to remain at the all-black junior high school.<sup>33</sup>



This science lab at Douglass School in Webster Groves, Missouri, was still segregated until the system integrated in 1956. That year, the district closed Douglass, originally named for abolitionist and former slave Frederick Douglass. (Photo: Western Historical Manuscript Collection, St. Louis)

A similar situation resulted in the southeastern Missouri town of Poplar Bluff. In 1955, an article in the *Journal of Negro Education* discussing the status of integration in Missouri schools stated, "all Negro children chose to continue at the Negro school" in Poplar Bluff.<sup>34</sup> This fact was reiterated on February 13, 1956, when the *Poplar Bluff Daily American* featured an article with the headline "Both Races Appear Satisfied with Separate Schools in S.E. Mo."<sup>35</sup> Al Daniel, the author of the article, expressed that there was no demand for public school integration and since no African American students had applied for admission to any all-white schools, none had been refused.<sup>36</sup>

Daniel also reported that similar circumstances existed in other southeastern counties such as Pemiscot, New Madrid, Dunklin, Stoddard, Scott, and Mississippi.<sup>37</sup>

Clarkton, a small town located in Dunklin County, also observed instant resistance to integration. After the Clarkton Public School Board voted to desegregate the schools in 1954, white parents were not the only group to begin resisting immediately.<sup>38</sup> African American parents were uncertain and apprehensive about integrating their children into the white schools, fearing that they would be subjected to racial violence.<sup>39</sup>

In St. Louis City, nine high schools were in existence in 1954, seven white and two black.<sup>40</sup> Of the 4,275 black students enrolled in St. Louis' only two black high schools, Sumner and Vashon, less than fourteen percent (only 591) integrated after the *Brown* decision.<sup>41</sup> Of those 591 students, 425 left Vashon and Sumner in order to attend Soldan-Blewett High School, a high school in the Cabanne area of St. Louis located just a mile or so southwest of The Ville neighborhood.<sup>42</sup> The Cabanne neighborhood had already been experiencing a growing black population after World War II when many large single-family homes were converted into apartment buildings.<sup>43</sup> Therefore, integration allowed a more convenient high school location for the Cabanne black community who were obligated to send their children to either Sumner or Vashon prior to *Brown*. In addition, because the area was already in the process of being introduced to residential integration, the community was most likely more adaptable to educational integration.

Blacks were also concerned that forced racial integration within the education system could produce feelings of isolation or estrangement among black students.<sup>44</sup> A lawyer representing the NAACP responded to this particular fear by announcing that if integration led to an increase of black student dropout rates, it was a necessary consequence since there are always casualties in any form of social change.<sup>45</sup> This was not the only fear among African Americans, though. Throughout the country, even in the Deep South, blacks simply did not want their children to unite with white people.<sup>46</sup> Many were suspicious that integration would influence desertion of their own culture and impose assimilation into the white culture.<sup>47</sup> However, the most common cause of anxiety, particularly in St. Louis, was the *Brown* decision's impact on black schools, principals, and teachers.<sup>48</sup>

## Resistance and Counter-resistance

African American educators served as leaders of the black community during the pre-*Brown* years.<sup>49</sup> African Americans, especially those who benefited from flourishing black neighborhoods such as those in St. Louis, were proud of their schools and educators. Even after the *Brown* decision, the first black students who chose to transfer to previously all-white schools were accused of disloyalty to their black schools and neighborhoods.<sup>50</sup> Many black educators and black parents were apprehensive of desegregation because they feared it would demolish successful black institutions such as schools.<sup>51</sup> When these fears were expressed to the NAACP's executive secretary, Walter White, who



A crucial step in breaking down codified segregation took place surrounding this house at 4600 Labadie in St. Louis in 1948. J. D. Shelley, an African American, purchased the house in 1945, but the family of Louis Kraemer, who lived on the street, sued Shelley to keep him from moving in, citing a 1911 covenant prohibiting the sale of any house to anyone of the "Negro or Mongolian race" for fifty years. The trial court ruled in Shelley's favor, but the Missouri Supreme Court reversed the decision. In May 1948, the U. S. Supreme Court ruled that such restrictions violated the 14th Amendment of the Constitution. (Photo: Western Historical Manuscript Collection, St. Louis)

supported the NAACP's main intention of integration, he stated that "blacks needed to give up the little kingdoms that had developed under segregation."<sup>52</sup>

In Missouri particularly, fear for the lack of employment opportunities for black educators was at the heart of the overall concern for the loss of black institutions.<sup>53</sup> Throughout Missouri, African American citizens began expressing concern for the loss of their schools and teachers. For example, in Poplar Bluff, black residents "wished to preserve the 'social and economic status of the negro teacher.'"<sup>54</sup> The principal fear was that in the event of desegregation, "there will be a lowering of general standards resulting from the loss of Negro teachers who would not have teaching positions."<sup>55</sup> What would happen to the black educators, deemed the leaders of

many black communities, when black schools were forced to close as their students were integrated into the white schools? When this fear surfaced as a national concern, NAACP lawyer Robert Carter responded that the NAACP and its legal team “really had the feeling that segregation itself was evil—and not a symptom of the deeper evil of racism.”<sup>56</sup> He also indicated that the box that blacks were forced into was segregation itself, and the majority of the nation would come to realize this as well.<sup>57</sup>

While national leaders of the NAACP were speaking out against anti-integration efforts, the St. Louis branch of the NAACP reaffirmed its stance against segregation. In a 1953 issue of the *St. Louis Argus*, an African American newspaper, one article discussed the St. Louis NAACP’s views on anti-integration attempts, noting that the local chapter “deplored the efforts of ‘selfish interests who would perpetuate segregation unless a particular job can be guaranteed.’”<sup>58</sup> Also included was a statement made by the St. Louis NAACP branch blatantly singling out black teachers who condoned and worked toward maintaining segregation, stating that any black teacher fitting this profile “contributes little of value to any child” and that the African American public “should not assume that integration will mean the loss of jobs for black teachers in Missouri.”<sup>59</sup> This statement was followed by the *Argus*’ reports of “a small group of African American leaders working in the state to safeguard black teachers’ jobs in the event segregation in education is abolished...working quietly to weaken the chances of the anti-segregation bills in education now before the Missouri Assembly.”<sup>60</sup>

Throughout a series of articles, the *St. Louis Argus* referred to this “group of Negro teachers.” However, the *Argus* failed to mention any specifics about the group itself or the individuals involved. The origin of the secrecy about the group could be derived from the group itself or from the *St. Louis Argus*. The group of teachers could have been attempting to conceal their identities to maintain respect within their community. Alternatively, the *St. Louis Argus* was closely allied with the NAACP and regularly highlighted its positions. It could also be that the *St. Louis Argus* purposely excluded detailed information about this group in an attempt to refrain from promoting them. Or, it may be that no one was entirely certain who these “Negro teachers” were.

One attempt to fight desegregation surfaced with the anti-segregation House Bill 112, otherwise known as the Tyus-Jones Bill. House Bill 112, supported by representatives Leroy Tyus and A. Clifford Jones, was intended to break down mandated segregation in the five Missouri state-supported universities and colleges.<sup>61</sup> It required that “any otherwise qualified citizen of the state of Missouri who complies with entrance requirements, shall be admitted to any state supported institution of higher learning without regard to race, color, or religion.”<sup>62</sup> This bill received obvious support from Missouri integrationists but was met with resistance by “an organized group of Negroes that had expressed strong opposition to the bill’s passage.”<sup>63</sup> It was thought that if Bill 112 passed, then the desegregation of all of the lower levels of public

education would soon follow. The *St. Louis Argus* quoted Representative Tyus: “the legislator said the group was made up of those persons who stand to ‘gain by segregation’ and so would stymie progress in the state.”<sup>64</sup> As suggested by the *Argus* in an article a few weeks prior, this group was associated with an organized group of “Negro leaders” from Jefferson City and St. Louis and led by a St. Louis elementary school principal fighting “to safeguard Negro teaching jobs.”<sup>65</sup> According to the *Argus*, the group was “working toward an amendment or bill which would safeguard Negro teachers’ jobs in the event segregation is abolished.”<sup>66</sup>

The St. Louis NAACP branch and the *St. Louis Argus* both referred to support of a bill by the Negro teacher group. This bill is presumably House Bill 114 that, if passed, would have granted local option to all school districts on the question of segregation,<sup>67</sup> which according to the *Argus* would have ensured that schools would admit any student who resided within the school district.<sup>68</sup> Although this bill could be viewed as another anti-segregation bill, as it was in the *Chicago Defender*,<sup>69</sup> the legislation itself did not mention negating segregation and essentially relied on school district boundaries and *de facto* residential segregation. Even though the anti-segregation Bill 112 only affected higher learning institutions, Bill 114 was concerned with all school levels; therefore, the *Argus* presumed that proponents of this piece of legislation were clearly fighting for African American teachers.<sup>70</sup>

What demographic of the St. Louis black community did the group of Negro Teachers represent? Representative Walter Victor Lay of the tenth district and John Wilson Green of the seventeenth district, both of St. Louis City, introduced House Bill 114. In 1953, districts ten and seventeen of St. Louis City collaboratively covered the area between Natural Bridge Road and Market Street (north to south) and Kingshighway Boulevard to the Mississippi River (west to east).<sup>71</sup> Enclosed in this area are the Ville and Greater Ville neighborhoods, which were bastions of St. Louis’ black society.

Considering that representatives of the larger Ville neighborhood introduced this anti-integration bill and primarily because this community flourished under a self-regulated, self-reliant, and segregated system, the Ville neighborhood most likely also housed the group of Negro educators in question. This notion provides some insight about this group of educators and the reasons they were fighting against integration. The Ville offered St. Louis black society a refuge within the larger segregated society. With control of their own major institutions such as schools, black St. Louisans were in most cases not forced to accept substandard services like other black communities in much of the rest of the nation. Segregated schools, as did other facilities and businesses, contributed to a secluded job market that in turn directly benefited the community since most people confined by segregated communities remained there. Segregation, in this case, was a guarantee for the St. Louis black community that a white teacher would not be hired over a black teacher and that black parents would opt to send their children to black



Sumner High School was the first high school for African Americans west of the Mississippi when opened in 1875; it moved to this building in 1908. It was named for the noted abolitionist Senator Charles Sumner (famously attacked and severely beaten on the floor of the Senate by South Carolina Representative Preston Brooks), who had died the previous year. (Photo: Western Historical Manuscript Collection, St. Louis)

schools instead of white. This type of system ensured that success would be tied to their community. However, when desegregation became an alternative, this guarantee faded.

According to an article in a 1957 issue of the *Journal of Negro Education*, one out of every five teachers in segregated states was an African American whereas one out of every 72 teachers was African American in the remaining 31 non-segregated states.<sup>72</sup> Small wonder that black St. Louis teachers feared that integration could lead to a decline in available teaching positions. However, black teachers had other concerns in addition to losing their jobs. Some expressed the fear that integration would bring an end to cultural leadership provided by African American teachers and in turn cause black students who wanted to become teachers to lose incentive.<sup>73</sup> In addition to hindering racial pride, there was a general concern among black teachers that white teachers would simply not be able to teach black students due to meager toleration or lack of understanding.<sup>74</sup>

Despite the genuine concerns of African American teachers, the black integrationists in St. Louis had larger concerns. The *St. Louis Argus* represented this view by stating its position that “desegregation should not be jeopardized by the fear that Negro teachers would be jobless...we favor desegregated faculties...we view dimly any organized teacher resistance to desegregation... it would appear uncalled for and entirely in poor judgment.”<sup>75</sup>

An editorial in the *Chicago Defender* blatantly identified the fear of the loss of black teachers’ jobs as a fallacy, agreeing that because African Americans had limited employment opportunities, the education field was

more concentrated with African Americans; therefore, more African Americans are likely to get hired.<sup>76</sup> Another result of this, it noted, was that “many Negro teachers [would] be absorbed into jobs of greater remuneration and scope.”<sup>77</sup>

## Results of Desegregation

Bill 114 died quickly in the Missouri State Assembly, but Bill 112 passed on March 12, 1953.<sup>78</sup> Although Bill 112 opened all Missouri state-supported universities and colleges to African Americans, the bill left the larger school system segregated. At this time, the *Brown v. Board of Education* case was becoming the focus of a national debate. The United States Supreme Court had already decided that it would hear all of the school desegregation cases collectively, therefore making *Brown* a national issue.<sup>79</sup> Even though bills 112 and 114 failed to integrate all students, St. Louis integrationists hoped that *Brown* would. However, when the Supreme Court overturned *Plessy v. Ferguson* on May 17, 1954, not much changed in regard to segregation in St. Louis. *Brown* gave the same results as Bill 114 would have. The problem, of course, was that school districts were drawn according to the already standing neighborhoods, giving almost no actual desegregation results.<sup>80</sup> Many historians have also debated that *Brown’s* desegregation policies were partly to blame for the “white flight” phenomena that occurred in St. Louis and other cities throughout the country shortly after the case was implemented, causing cities to remain segregated and vacant.<sup>81</sup>

In the end, *Brown* did not result in the mass firing



Segregated schools like this one in Kinloch, Missouri, were the norm until the *Brown v. Board* decision in 1954. Even then, a number of school districts did not desegregate immediately. (Photo: Western Historical Manuscript Collection, St. Louis)

of black St. Louis educators, mostly because St. Louis, home to half of the African Americans in Missouri, had a large community to fall back on.<sup>82</sup> The majority of black students remained within their original school districts, and most of the previously all-black schools remained open. In this instance, the vibrant community that African Americans had made for themselves acted as a safety net for black teachers' jobs. However, this was not the case throughout Missouri or the nation.

Even in *Brown's* birthplace of Topeka, Kansas, several black teachers did not receive contract renewals for the next year on the March 15, 1953, deadline; moreover, throughout Kansas most teacher vacancies had been filled with white teachers as the school boards had been anticipating desegregation for several years.<sup>83</sup> In Kansas City, home to the second largest concentration of African Americans in Missouri at the time, 59 percent of black teachers lost their jobs while Kansas City school districts were maintaining the practice of only hiring African American teachers in formerly all black schools.<sup>84</sup> St. Charles and St. Louis had only desegregated elementary schools by fall of 1955, and as a result five out of seven black teachers at Franklin Elementary school were dismissed.<sup>85</sup> Similar cases were reported in almost all

other parts of Missouri, especially in smaller towns. In the northeastern Missouri town of Moberly, the school board closed its black schools and cut fifteen total positions, eleven of which were black teachers.<sup>86</sup> Similar cases resulted in Hannibal (north of St. Louis) and Slater (west of Moberly).<sup>87</sup> In Springfield, only one African American teacher had been hired to an all-white school as of fall 1955.<sup>88</sup>

As the nation was pressed with the *Brown* case and public school desegregation was becoming more of a possibility, a debate among black integrationists and black educators emerged within the black community of St. Louis. Although there is evidence of similar debates throughout the nation, St. Louis is an interesting case study. The prominent and self-sufficient black communities of St. Louis give historians a different scope in which to view the effects of segregation and desegregation. Segregation in St. Louis for the most part did not cause an upheaval of mass black resistance during the civil rights movement; neither did the prospect of public school desegregation. However, black resistance to school desegregation in St. Louis did exist.



## NOTES

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- <sup>1</sup> Brian J. Daugherity, ed., *With All Deliberate Speed: Implementing Brown v. Board of Education* (Fayetteville: University of Arkansas Press, 2008), 177.
- <sup>2</sup> For the entirety of this essay, I will refer to this group of African American teachers that resisted school desegregation as the “group of Negro Teachers” or the “Negro Teachers,” as this is what the group was referred to by several newspaper and journal articles of this time period. The group did not have a formal name that I have found.
- <sup>3</sup> House Bill 114; Records of the House of Representatives; 67<sup>th</sup> General Assembly, 1<sup>st</sup> Session, 1953; Missouri State Archives, Jefferson City. Missouri House.
- <sup>4</sup> Daugherity, *With All Deliberate Speed*, 177.
- <sup>5</sup> George Lipsitz, *A Life in the Struggle: Ivory Perry and the Culture of Opposition* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1988), 66.
- <sup>6</sup> Albert P. Marshall, “Racial Integration in Education in Missouri,” *Journal of Negro Education* 25, no. 3 (1956): 289.
- <sup>7</sup> Lipsitz, *A Life in the Struggle*, 66.
- <sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, 67.
- <sup>9</sup> “The Ville” is also known as the Grand Prairie area of St. Louis. The Ville is located south of Fairground Park and north of Dr. Martin Luther King Drive, west of North Grand Avenue and east of Newstead Avenue.
- <sup>10</sup> Priscilla Dowden-White, “‘Over this point we are determined to fight’: African-American public education and health care in St. Louis, Missouri, 1910-1949” (PhD diss., Indiana University, 1997), 5.
- <sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, 6.
- <sup>12</sup> Clarence Lang, *Grassroots at the Gateway: Class Politics and Black Freedom Struggle in St. Louis, 1936-75* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2009), 11.
- <sup>13</sup> Gerald W. Heaney and Susan Uchitelle, *Unending Struggle: The Long Road to an Equal Education in St. Louis* (St. Louis: Reedy Press, 2004), 64; Daugherity, *With All Deliberate Speed*, 177.
- <sup>14</sup> Although the survey was conducted after the *Brown* decision, I am still validating these numbers as constitutional steps that had not yet been taken toward public school integration in Missouri at this time.
- <sup>15</sup> Colin Gordon, *Mapping Decline: St. Louis and the Fate of the American City* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008), 58.
- <sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>17</sup> Daugherity, *With All Deliberate Speed*, 177.
- <sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, 177-178.
- <sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>23</sup> Heaney and Uchitelle, *Unending Struggle*, 11.
- <sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, 11-12.
- <sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>28</sup> James T. Patterson, *Brown v. Board of Education: A Civil Rights Milestone and Its Troubled Legacy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 37.
- <sup>29</sup> Charles M. Payne, “‘The Whole United States Is Southern!’: *Brown v. Board* and the Mystification of Race,” *Journal of American History* 91, no. 1 (June 2004): 89.
- <sup>30</sup> Patterson, *Brown v. Board of Education*, xxvi.
- <sup>31</sup> Payne, “‘The Whole United States Is Southern!’: *Brown v. Board* and the Mystification of Race”: 90.
- <sup>32</sup> George D. Brantley, “Present Status of Integration in the Public Schools of Missouri,” *Journal of Negro Education* 24, no. 3 (1955): 306.
- <sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>35</sup> Marshall, “Racial Integration in Education in Missouri”: 291.
- <sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>38</sup> Marshall, “Racial Integration in Education in Missouri”: 292.
- <sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>40</sup> Cited in Brantley, “Present Status of Integration in the Public Schools of Missouri”: 305.
- <sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*

- <sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>44</sup> Payne, “‘The Whole United States Is Southern!’: *Brown v. Board* and the Mystification of Race”: 90.
- <sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>46</sup> Patterson, *Brown v. Board of Education*: xxvi.
- <sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>50</sup> Payne, “‘The Whole United States Is Southern!’: *Brown v. Board* and the Mystification of Race”: 89.
- <sup>51</sup> Patterson, *Brown v. Board of Education*, 7.
- <sup>52</sup> Payne, “‘The Whole United States Is Southern!’: *Brown v. Board* and the Mystification of Race”: 90.
- <sup>53</sup> Daugherity, *With All Deliberate Speed*, 180.
- <sup>54</sup> Brantley, “Present Status of Integration in the Public Schools of Missouri”: 306.
- <sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>56</sup> Payne, “‘The Whole United States Is Southern!’: *Brown v. Board* and the Mystification of Race”: 90.
- <sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>58</sup> “NAACP Scores Teachers Who ‘Condone’ Bias,” *The St. Louis Argus*, April 24, 1953, page 1.
- <sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>61</sup> House Bill 112; Records of the House of Representatives; 67<sup>th</sup> General Assembly, 1<sup>st</sup> Session, 1953; Missouri State Archives, Jefferson City. Missouri House.
- <sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>63</sup> “Anti-Segregation Bills-Mo. ‘Political Footballs,’” *The St. Louis Argus*, May 1, 1953, page 1.
- <sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>65</sup> “Organize To Safeguard Jobs Of Mo. Teachers,” *The St. Louis Argus*, April 17, 1953, page 1.
- <sup>66</sup> “Anti-Segregation Bills-Mo. ‘Political Footballs,’” *The St. Louis Argus*, May 1, 1953, page 1.
- <sup>67</sup> “Organize To Safeguard Jobs Of Mo. Teachers,” pages 1 and 6.
- <sup>68</sup> “Bills Hit Jim Crow In Missouri Schools,” *Chicago Defender*, February 7, 1953, page 2.
- <sup>69</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>70</sup> “Organize To Safeguard Jobs Of Mo. Teachers,” pages 1 and 6.
- <sup>71</sup> Missouri Secretary of State, *State of Missouri Official Manual for the Years 1953-1954*, 1953, 1078.
- <sup>72</sup> Jonas O. Rosenthal, “Negro Teachers’ Attitudes Toward Desegregation,” *Journal of Negro Education* 26, no. 1 (1957): 63.
- <sup>73</sup> *Ibid.*, 70.
- <sup>74</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>75</sup> “Negro Teachers and Desegregation,” *The St. Louis Argus*, May 8, 1953, page 14.
- <sup>76</sup> Walter White, “Writer Notes Fallacies In Thinking About Education,” *Chicago Defender*, January 1, 1953, page 11.
- <sup>77</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>78</sup> House Bill 112; Records of the House of Representatives; 67<sup>th</sup> General Assembly, 1<sup>st</sup> Session, 1953; Missouri State Archives, Jefferson City. Missouri House; House Bill 114; Records of the House of Representatives; 67<sup>th</sup> General Assembly, 1<sup>st</sup> Session, 1953; Missouri State Archives, Jefferson City. Missouri House.
- <sup>79</sup> The U.S. National Archives and Records Administration, “Timeline of Events Leading to the *Brown v. Board* Decision, 1954,” U.S. Archives. <http://www.archives.gov/education/lessons/brown-v-boardtimeline.html>.
- <sup>80</sup> “Map of New City High School Districts Set Up to End Segregation,” *The St. Louis Argus*, November 16, 1954, page 1-8D.
- <sup>81</sup> For examples, see Charles T. Clotfelter, *After Brown: The Rise and Retreat of School Segregation* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004); Gordon, *Mapping Decline*; Daugherity, *With All Deliberate Speed*; Heaney and Uchitelle, *Unending Struggle*.
- <sup>82</sup> Rosenthal, “Negro Teachers’ Attitudes Toward Desegregation”: 64; Hurley H. Doddy, “Desegregation and the Employment of Negro Teachers,” *Journal of Negro Education* 24, no. 4 (1955): 405-6.
- <sup>83</sup> “Organize To Safeguard Jobs Of Mo. Teachers,” page 6.
- <sup>84</sup> Rosenthal, “Negro Teachers’ Attitudes Toward Desegregation”: 66.
- <sup>85</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>86</sup> Daugherity, *With All Deliberate Speed*, 180.
- <sup>87</sup> Doddy, “Desegregation and the Employment of Negro Teachers”: 406.
- <sup>88</sup> *Ibid.* However, no information was given on the state of black schools in Springfield.